1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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869 The child's first religious instruction centers about reverence for the principal supernaturals and emphasizes the virtues of humility and gratitude. "At our own camps, when a child is old enough to understand his parents, they begin to teach him to be religious, to use religious words, and to know Life Giver, Child of the Water, and White Painted Woman."

773 869 The child soon comes to sense that specific favors are the result of the activity of other powers. There are no stories to record the deeds of Life Giver, but there are numerous tales to explain the part of other supernaturals in origins and possessions. For instance, according to tradition, daylight was acquired as a result of the moccasin or hidden-ball game played between the birds and the four-footed animals. Even the origin of man is not attributed to the nominal creator in the myths; what hints there are (and these creation elements may be of European origin) seem to credit Child of the Water with the act.

869 772 82 The child is given very little in the way of a formalized conception of the universe:

> If we aren't shamans or have no supernatural power, we have no basis to stand on in saying how far from us the clouds are or how far away the sun is. A person like myself will tell you that rain comes from the clouds, because I have no vision about it. But others will say their power causes it. I don't know just where to begin or what to believe.

In other words, one person claims to know more than another concerning those aspects of nature which his personal power touches, but, since no adult should presume to conviction about the prerogatives of his fellows, the child hears no unified philosphy of nature.

THE DANGERS OF CHILDHOOD

869 855 [776] With age the individual becomes "toughened" against the assaults of malevolent forces; but the child is almost defenseless before them. While adults ordinarily have protective ceremonies and guardian spirits to warn them of danger, children are less shielded in this way. Because of his precarious position, the child is constantly guarded by minor rituals and devices. From these he gains his first impressions of the forces opposed to his welfare and of the ceremonial usages that benefit him.

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or they would see it. She would make a buckskin string with two pieces of turquoise tied to it and give it to anyone who was afraid of the snake. That one had to wear it on the right foot below the ankle.

It is quite as important that the child understand the ways of the cloud-dwelling Thunder People whose arrows are chipped flints found throughout Chiricahua country. The children are directed to make a respectful spitting noise when the lightning flashes and to refrain from eating during a storm. Sage is pointed out as a protective plant which may be worn in the hair during a storm. Nothing red should be displayed at such a time, they are told, for red is associated with the lightning flash and may draw it.

While the child is very young, adults take the proper steps to protect him from danger. But, as he grows old enough to understand ideas and to react consistently to them, more responsibility for his own safety is transferred to him. Thus, quite small children not only depend upon the amulets provided for them but pick and wear the sage which wards off the lightning, dispose of a loose tooth, and extend due respect to masked dancers. Advice and guidance are freely given, but the response which constitutes growth and fulfilment is, as far as possible, elicited from the child himself. The prevailing theme in things nonritual as well as ritual is that the youngster must learn to do for himself tomorrow what is done for him today.

Since most ceremonies are curative rites and are of frequent occurrence, it is almost inevitable that, while the child is still very young, he will witness a full-length ceremony. Very often the first shamanistic performance a child remembers is one in which he was the patient:

> At this time, when I was about six years old, I saw the first ceremony I can remember. It was given for me. I don't know what was the matter with me, but at that time I was very slim and underweight, and it may have been for a general run-down condition. I know I was taken to the shaman's house. I was lying on a bed in the middle of the room. My grandmother was there. My mother, but not my father, was there. My father couldn't be there because my mother's mother was present. Other people whom I did not know were sitting around. The man who was curing me sang. Later on I was told that he had forbidden me to eat the head and liver of any animal. Whenever they had liver after that, they had something else for me. At big gatherings where there was head, I would not eat any of it.

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832 578 825 ceremony. He got a young woman with it. Everybody knows he influenced her. She chased him all around, day and night, when she was a young girl. He's much older than she is. That girl was very pretty and he was ugly. They think he used butterflies. They say that he has been helping some other people with his power too. I've heard young fellows talking about it.

And they talk about another man that way too. It shows. He has two wives, one in secret. He's not good-looking; he hasn't anything. That's how you know. Some suspected N. of having love power because he had two wives. Some even suspect C. They say he's got a pretty fair-looking wife and doesn't do anything. They say anything about you these days.

They think that the time to perform this ceremony is in spring or midsummer when the butterfly is out. Then it works easier.

832 In an expansive mood, one man revealed that in his younger days he was "so lucky with the girls that many said it was love power." He added, however, "I swear that I never had one little bit of this power."

832 791 But there are practitioners who do carry on such ceremonies:

There are people who can make others love you. Their work is not considered a disgrace like that of a witch. If you are a man, you go to one of them and say that you want a certain woman. You must pay these people.

[82] In the ceremony they use the sun, the butterfly, and water. When they want to influence you, they splash water on you with the hand. Sometimes they have something shiny to flash in your eyes. Sometimes they take a piece of your clothing or your hair—something of yours is needed to work with. They sing to the sun. They think that the sun can stretch a net like a spider's net and catch a person in it.

I had a friend, an old man, who used to boast to me that he had such power. He married a young girl. I asked, "How did you get your wife?" He said, "I used power." I believed him because it looked queer to me. He was not good-looking either. He said that when he prayed to a girl he made her put on the nature of a butterfly. She would then fly here and there, take no responsibility, and have no worry about the future, and so you could make love to her.

[823] [192] The use of water is especially interesting, for the term meaning love power, while it does not yield to linguistic analysis in entirety, is evidently related to the word for water.

Concerning the reality of a love ceremony another informant said:

There was a man at Whitetail who knew the ceremony pretty well. He died about 1919. . . . . The old man, if I liked a girl, could be hired to get her for me. He would sing over the girl for me, and when he finished, the girl would come right in and sit down. Then she would love me forever and never leave me.

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Women, as well as men, claim to control this power: 832 791

T.'s wife has this ceremony. Once when she was full of tiswin she promised to show me what she knew about it. She sang one of the butterfly songs for me. I couldn't get on to it, for I heard it only once. In the morning when she was sober she changed her mind and wouldn't show me any more. In these ceremonies the caterpillar and rope are used with the butterfly. If the butterfly is put in your bed during such a ceremony, you're a "goner"; you are "charmed." [825]

Another ramification of love power is its relation to deer ceremonies: 832 [825]

The man who knows the ceremony of the deer is good at love medicine, they say. He gets any young girl. He will always be poor though. He never has anything but his loincloth, but the girl loves him just the same. [791] [735]

If a person is under the influence of the love ceremony and eats meat from a deer's head, it will cause his own head to swell up. [262]

The main outlines of the love ceremony are now clear. The desired one, lured by flageolet music, is to become as aimless and irresponsible as the butterfly and is to be enmeshed in a net of "ropes" of the sun (sunbeams, sometimes symbolized by pieces of cord). Contact with the person to be influenced is important. Water may be playfully splashed upon him; a beam of light may be directed toward him from some shiny object (another form of the sun motif); a sticky leaf may be flicked at him; a butterfly or a caterpillar may be dropped in his bed; a piece of his clothing or a strand of his hair may be secured. 832 82

The emphasis of the ceremony is upon disarming any contrary will and securing fast the one desired. This explains the seeming intrusion of deer power. The deer ceremony has broadly similar objectives—to induce the animal to be tractable and to hold it in a place from which it may easily be taken. By substituting an object of affection for the game animal, the deer ceremony becomes quite as effective for another purpose. But here a choice must be made. One who decides to use his deer ceremony for love rather than for sustenance will remain poor in material things. 832 825 182 [735]

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nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

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power and to the close understanding the shaman has with it. Such prophecy has its therapeutic function, too, for the religious zeal of all present is important in the successful outcome of any rite.

Supernatural experiences often bring to those who undergo them special abilities and techniques which may be used quite apart from any rite. It is not unusual to hear that a person possesses great bodily strength because his ceremony comes from Bear, that one who "knows" Bat is an excellent horseman, or that a man's speed and endurance date from his acquisition of power from Goose. It is often claimed that one who knows sun and moon power is able to look down upon distant events. Of a certain man, it was said: "When he went a long distance, he sang a song. In it were the words 'Near, near.' Then he got there sooner. He had songs for going a long distance and a short distance."

Another office of supernatural power is to bring success—success in war and raid, in hunting, in love, in games, and in many of life's endeavors. The degree to which it has guided his efforts to acquire stock and to deal with the enemy was related by one man:

> Power told me that I was to get something if I went out on the raid. If I go out and look for something, my power gives me the ability to get horses and mules. The power sends me out and tells me, "You are going to get this."
>
> My power told me that the enemy was coming. It told me, "If you want the enemy to see you, they are going to see you. If you want to see the enemy, you will see them. If you don't want to meet the enemy, they will swing around the other way."

The location of lost persons and lost or hidden objects is an important service performed by supernatural power. Usually power guides the shaman's hand in the direction of the object or person to be discovered. The ceremonial procedure, designated "it moves the arms about," is employed also in locating a foe. Usually the shaman stands, praying and singing, with arms extended, while the supernatural power moves him in the fateful direction. In ceremonies to find missing persons shamans use articles of clothing belonging to the one sought. Songs, prayers, or ritual acts carried on over the garments exert a controlling influence on the lost individual.

There are other ceremonial means of finding the enemy:

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825 755 539

Once I was sick with a bad case of kidney trouble. I went to the agency doctor, and he told me I couldn't get well. He said that I'd have trouble all the way through and that one day it would kill me. One side of my face and one side of my body were swollen. I got out of that hospital. Then, because they were distant relatives of mine, these two men sang for me and told me not to be worried, that I was going to get well. P. was there, S., B. and his wife, and some other people, the relatives of my wife. We were not alone.

When they started to cure me, they first smoked. Then they used pollen, marking me on the face. Then they marked the faces of all who were present with pollen. I did it back to these two men, marked their faces with pollen, and the other people did it too. There were quite a few people present. The people always like to listen. Some heard there was going to be singing and just dropped in. [788]

Then they started to sing. During the singing one of them was always drumming. Sometimes it was one of them, sometimes the other. They sang about the nighthawk, calling him Great Old Man Nighthawk, and asking him what it was best to do to get me well. They used feathers of the golden eagle. One had two of them sewed together and attached to his hand all the time.

Their power talked to them any time they asked him something, and they asked him questions right in the songs. Then they would look at each other and talk. One would say, "Do you hear that?" The other would answer, "Yes." But we couldn't hear a thing. Sometimes they got a message, but they would tell me they couldn't say anything about it until morning. They carried on the ceremony at night only for four nights.

When they first sang, Nighthawk spoke to them and said that they didn't have to be frightened, that I'd be going along all right in a few days. I had been laid up during February, March, and April. This was in late April.

Next Nighthawk told them that there was a woman present who knew herbs and that it was best to have her use certain herbs on me. This was my own mother. They directed her in what to do, according to the word of their power, and she went out and gathered all the best herbs. [757]

All during their ceremony they learned many things about my future. They told me that in the future I was going to have land and own everything and have children too. They said the first was to be a boy, and it was. And they said, "You are not only going to have this boy but girls too. In the spring you are going to plow. You will look up and see just one little cloud. And it will open and rain first on your place." And it all really came true. In the spring I was plowing back of East Mountain. It rained first on my place. It did this for several years. [787]

The ceremony helped me a great deal. D. told me not to eat liver until I got real well. By May, after the last snow, and when the birds first began to come, I was well. And so I think the power of the nighthawk was certainly strong.

82 789

Owl.—When individuals are first troubled by the call of an owl or by thoughts and dreams of the dead, there are measures

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•82 789 [37] they may take, even though they lay no claim to a ceremony from the owl. A man who was gathering wormwood (*Artemisia frigida*), one of the plants known as "ghost medicine,"[33] explained: "Sometimes when you feel nervous and don't sleep well, you fumigate the house with this. People use it after a funeral." Others tell of self-treatment that "could be tried by anyone."

[783] [764]

For trouble with ghosts I use "ghost medicine" and also ashes. I put a cross of ashes on my forehead at night. The Silas John cross is used too. I used it last night. A black-handled knife under the pillow is good for this too.

[304] By scarring your nose with a live coal, you keep ghosts away. You take a burning stick, wet it at one end, fix this end on your nose, and let it burn down so that it scars your nose. Then the ghost will fear you and keep away. Ashes can be put on the nose to keep away ghosts too.

755 756 775 But, though self-purification often succeeds in dispelling persecution, in a residue of cases the attacks are so acute that there is no recourse except to consult an owl shaman. The ghosts are of two kinds—those of enemy peoples and those of tribesman (often of deceased relatives). Correspondingly, there are owl shamans whose rites are effective against enemy ghosts, and there are those whose ceremonies banish tribesmen's ghosts.

Most cases of enemy-ghost sickness result from battles.[34] "If a man who had killed an enemy thought he couldn't stand the haunting, he went to a shaman who used an owl ceremony on him." "If you have enemy-ghost sickness, you take a black silk handkerchief, a cross, and a knife and give them to one who knows songs for this. Then he can work for you. I've seen it

[33] Others are squaw weed (*Senecio filifolius*) and sage (*Artemisia filifolia*).

[953] [761] [721] [34] It is unlikely that enemy-ghost sickness was ever very prevalent. Despite general dislike of the sight of the dead, the ghosts of those known or continually opposed in life are more likely to be feared than are the ghosts of persons who fall under the general classification of "enemy." Some individuals evidently had very little apprehension concerning the enemy dead. One old warrior said, "We had little fear of killing at war. War was just a kind of sport. Few had fear of the dead enemy." Another man, when he was asked whether one who killed a member of another tribe was in danger, seemingly discounted the supernatural risks altogether, for he replied, "Yes, the enemy might plan a raid to avenge the death of the man he killed."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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MESCALERO

There was a late introduction of agriculture which will be described presently, but its influence always remained slight. The Apache's efforts were not directed toward improving upon nature's offerings, but rather upon utilizing the largest number of natural goods, and using each one to the best advantage.

The utilization of plants for food, drinks, and narcotics was but one facet of this process, of course. In succeeding bulletins we expect to give some indication of the degree to which wild plants were used for medicines and for the making of tools, weapons, and artifacts in general. Every tree and bush had been tested for its qualities in all cultural contexts. Any Chiricahua or Mescalero above middle age will tell you that mulberry wood made the finest bow and that locust runs it a close second for this purpose. The wood of the chokecherry bush was the universal favorite among these Apache for arrows. Oak was considered the most durable for the outer rim of the cradle-board. The Apache took pride in matching his materials to the purpose at hand.

But to appreciate the total round of Apache life and thinking, and to comprehend the significance of many features of the culture, our understanding of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings must penetrate even further. That relation does not halt with a minute scrutiny of the environment and the practical applications which flow therefrom. It involves the Apache's world conception and his total relationship to nature.

The Apache, however arrogant may have been his relations with his fellowmen, was entirely cognizant of his abjectness and dependence before natural forces. He relied upon nature's bounty and suffered when drought or inclement weather curtailed it. He never lacked for vigorous enemies. He was ever a prey to frightening sicknesses. In the battle of wits between him and the wild game he stalked he was many times out-distanced. Whatever hazards he surmounted, there were always old age and death to strike him down at last. In the words of his own prayers, before the forces of nature he was "a poor fellow," and "a pitiable object."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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181 In comparison to himself many natural forces seemed
182 unaccountably potent. Cyclones uprooted trees and left him
82 terror-stricken. The lightning struck and devastated. The sun shone strongly and the plants everywhere renewed life. The Apache saw himself at the mercy of all these forces. He recognized, moreover, how little he could accomplish by himself without the aid of the plants and animals which surrounded him. If the choke-cherry bush did not yield wood for arrows he was defenseless and unable to hunt. If the deer could not be found he lacked clothing and meat.

181 In addition, the traits he shared with other animals
182 did not pass unnoticed for the Apache. He watched many of
825 them prey on others as he was forced to do. He saw them seek food and shelter and fiercely protect their young. That comfortable gap which we have left between ourselves and all other life on the planet, the Apache bridged in a stride.

773 Apache mythology harkens back to a time when all
824 creatures and objects could speak and move and showed
825 human attributes. Later, everything was given its "way"
182 and was differentiated from the human. But the qualities and capacities which these creatures and objects exercised in the mythological period, persist in them today in latent form. In the eyes of the Apache the natural world is potentially alive and aware of his problems. Trees, plants, animals, and insects do not ordinarily speak and assume human form, but if an Apache's need is extreme and he is worthy, any one of these may take pity on him and approach him thus to give him the requisite warning and advice.

182 Therefore the Apache, whether he is praying, or hunt-
824 ing, or acting the craftsman, is not dealing with dumb ani-
825 mals and inanimate plants as the white man would have it, but is concerned with natural objects which know well his intentions, how to thwart the impious and to reward the deserving. These animals and plants are thought to be willing to help the Apache and give of their seeds, fruit, hide, or meat—providing they are approached in the correct manner, with proper attention to rules and ritual which have existed from the time "the earth was new."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
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755 fourth verse of the songs, or at the end of the second or fourth song, he looks for some sign or word from his power which will guide him in the further steps to be taken. If sorcery has caused the complaint, the object shot into the victim by the sorcerer may have to be sucked out, either [757] through a tube or with the lips. A concoction of herbs as medicine may be prescribed. Food and behavior taboos may [784] be imposed on the patient. Various plants may be burned that the patient may inhale the smoke. Parts of animals and ceremonial objects may be rubbed on the sufferer's body.

755 Red ochre, white clay, and specular iron ore figure
82 prominently in Apache ceremonials in addition to the ritual objects already mentioned. Snakeweed *(Gutierrezia* sp.), grama grass *(Bouteloua* sp.) and sage *(Artemisia* sp.) are plants much used in ceremonial contexts. The source from which curative power comes is nearly always represented in the rite by some body part. If that source is animal, its hide or some part of it will be in evidence. If it is a bird, the tail feather will, in all likelihood, be found among the ceremonial paraphernalia manipulated.

778 Though curing occupies the central place in Apache
787 ceremonialism, power can be approached with other ends in
789 view, and its aid obtained for locating the enemy, finding lost objects, helping in the hunt, for learning the probable outcome of a given course of action, and for the solving of many other problems.

852 There were ceremonies, too, which were performed over the growing child at specific times to insure for him long life and good health. A ceremony was held when the child was put into the cradle; another when he was about to walk. About a year later, in the spring, a rite was performed in which the hair was cut, that it might afterwards grow out full and thick.

881 The only Apache ceremony which deviated from the shamanistic principle and which did not depend for its success upon the personal relation between a shaman and [913] his power, was the girl's puberty rite. This was a rite which in theory had been taught to the Apache by the culture hero

4:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1947
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There are many kinds of ceremonies, but the real ceremonies are those which deal with the heavenly bodies and forces, like lightning. Ceremonies that pertain to this earth are false, and there is too much of a penalty in holding on to them. They make you pay out something in the end. I consider all ceremonies like those coming from Bear and Horse to be of this earth. Evil power uses the animal as an instrument and gives visions through it. To have an animal appear to a man and speak with him is not a good way. I think that evil represents itself through these animals. The powers of earth are easily learned by any kind of a person; these powers are not particular.

(See also *An Apache Life-Way*, pp. 203–9.)

Power can be obtained through a personal supernatural experience or, once obtained in this way, it can be perpetuated by the process of instruction and transfer.

A person who wants power does not have to go out alone, fast, or torture himself to induce the power to speak to him. The power speaks to him without any effort on his part. Or this person might ask a shaman to teach him his ceremony. He may get friendly with a shaman and then ask him if he will teach him his songs. Then the shaman "gives" him the songs and prayers. Or someone with power may offer to teach that power to him. These are the three common ways a man might get power.

The transfer of a ceremony is by no means a mechanical matter only. It can be accomplished only with the approval and assistance of the power source concerned.

A ceremony is usually transferred to a son, daughter, or other close relative. But the power has to be consulted before the transfer of a ceremony. If power is satisfied, it is all right. If the person isn't fit for it, the power refuses. This is shown by the fact that the man cannot learn the songs and keep in mind what to do. If the power is willing to have the transfer made, the man will learn the ceremony in less than four days.

Often a shaman, when he is very old, becomes eager to have his